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P'ing-chiao-tsun[1] As A Social Laboratory:

The Process of Social Cooperation In The Solution of Similar and Common Problems of The Population of A Peiping Suburban Village*

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There is a saying in China:

> Let each man sweep away the snow from his own doorstep without heeding the frost on his neighbor's roof.[2]

While interpretations of this statement vary, it is presumably a warning against permitting the necessary cooperation among neighbors to become interference with one's neighbors' affairs. In a small but compact community such as a Chinese village, care in this respect is indeed an important principle of living together although it is difficult

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1 P'ing-chiao-tsun is the name given to a village, about seven miles northwest of Peiping. Beginning July, 1939, the teaching staff and students of the Department of Sociology, Yenching University started a sociological field investigation in the village covering many aspects of social life. Field work has been continuing for more than two years and is still going on. The number of family-households, i.e., a household with a family as its core and including nonfamily members, varies from fifty-eight to sixty-two with an average of about five persons to each and a sex ratio of 130 males to 100 females. For details on methods see Appendix I.

2 各人自掃門前雪，莫管他人瓦上霜.

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121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in Competition and Cooperation, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in The Science of Society, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being." — W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, The Science of Society, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

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family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

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463 592 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

592 556 The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

458 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,潘河村鎮社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

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About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort.

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems.

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern.

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females.

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondarily, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

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581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 559 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

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taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges.

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity.

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs.

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means.

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially.

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

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834 Physiologically, the satisfaction of the sex impulse requires only two individuals. In human society sex is, however, much more than physiological. Customs requires the sex relation to be sanctioned by a group.[13] It has already been stated that a marriage is the union of two families. Furthermore the wedding of two individuals is a community affair. Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are negatively sanctioned. Under such circumstances, the sex relation becomes a social institution. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the institutionalization of sex relations has gone so far that the carnal element has been obscured. The satisfaction of the sex impulse involves the cooperation of a group larger than the union of two families and still far greater than the union of two individuals.

Social Order

626 In so far as man adopts the roundabout method in the satisfaction of his material needs, and in so far as the satisfaction of the human sex impulse is something more than the physiological union of two individuals, the order of political relationships among human beings has to be maintained. It has already been shown that normal union of the two sexes has to be sanctioned by the community. The exchange of material means and services, so important in the roundabout way of human satisfaction of hunger, also requires a set of rules of sanction.[14] It is because the problem of sanction and order is so important that a separate section is devoted to it.[15]

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13 By far the most significant study of sexual life from the sociological standpoint is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski. See The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia, An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea, 1st edition, London, 1929, third edition, 1932. See also his early publication, Sex and Repression in Savage Society, London, 1927.

14 "A sanction is a reaction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)." — A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Sanction, Social", in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 531. Bronislaw Malinowski laid special emphasis on the principle of reciprocity in maintaining social order. See Crime and Custom in Savage Society, London, 1926; also his "Introduction" in H. Ian Hogbin, Law and Order in Polynesia, New York, 1934.

15 Sumner and Keller have included "regulative organization" (including government and law) together with "industrial organization" under "self-maintenance". See The Science of Society, Vol. I, New Haven, 1927.

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Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes. [674]

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia;* four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連 保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao.* The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head. [647]

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao.* [665]

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631 Only a few of the villagers pay any attention to all these systems
647 of government. The majority do not care for them and expect nothing good from them. Nevertheless, their life is affected by these complicated systems of political organization. They are being taxed by them either in money payment or in labor service or both.

The heads of these political divisions do not consider it as an honour to receive an office from these governing bodies. The duties fall on them and they cannot escape. Much of their time is required by these duties. Their responsibility is great but their compensation is nil. Indeed, the office of *pao*-head was first offered to a member of the richest family of the village, but he refused by leaving the village and staying a few months in the city. He was rich and could afford to do that. How could the other fellows in the village refuse any offer from the governing bodies above them?

627 The village folks still follow their own ways of doing things and solving their own problems. The last thing they would consider would be litigation in the municipal court. When someone has committed a minor offence, all the villagers keep silent about it. In case it is found out by the police, go-betweens help out the villagers with simple gifts to the minor officials.

Smooth relations among the villagers cannot continue for an indefinite period. Some petty incidents occur from time to time among the villagers. Under such circumstances, the principle of "to have big incidents dissolved into small ones and small incidents into nothing at all" is preferred.

Thus, with "crimes" committed against government regulations by a villager, the principle of non-intervention and inaction is followed. With misconduct committed against fellow villagers, all available means are mobilized to have the matter settled quietly. So far no inter-village conflict has been observed. On principle, leaders of the villages concerned would have the conflict solved quietly. In case no solution can be worked out, litigation is inevitable, but such is a great mishap indeed and in the mind of the village-leaders it is to be avoided by all means.

622 The leaders are indeed important personalities. They take care of private as well as public affairs. Although observing the principles of non-intervention and inaction, they are very often requested to render assistance. When family property is, for instance, to be divided among the sons of a family, a person of age and prestige, whether relative or not, is requested to assist.

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Space is too limited to allow going into further details of the question of law and social order.[16] It suffices to say that villagers know very little about law and yet they seldom commit crime. The backbone of the social order of P'ing-chiao-tsun is customary sanction and not laws promulgated by governments. While the family is a very important unit in the process of ordering and control, public opinions in the form of gossips among villagers are too strong for any one to neglect.

Sacred Order

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The maintenance of a social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun depends upon forces which extend beyond the secular into the sacred. There is no greater disturbance in normal life aside from military attacks than what is called by the social anthropologists the "life crises" such as birth, marriage and death. In addition to these life crises, the uncertainty of agricultural production due to "water and wind" should be also mentioned. Both life crises and agricultural crises may disturb any existing equilibrium in the social structure, and some means must be provided to have it re-established. When all secular means fail man, he has to appeal to the mystic powers in the unseen world. He has to rescue life from death; so he has to depend on religion.[17]

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The birth of a child is called a happy event. But mortality is high. Parents are busy with other businesses of life and their knowledge of child care is limited. Anxiety over the security of an infant, under such circumstances, is very high indeed. Here, religion comes to the rescue. Many ceremonies of a magico-religious nature are performed in certain intervals such as three days, one hundred days and one year after birth to assure the child's life. When even these magico-religious performances fail, it is the fate of man and not the failure of gods.

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Marriage is also a happy event, but the newcomer may be a trouble-maker, and the union may not be approved by gods and ancestral spirits. Performances of a magico-religious nature are made before, during and after wedding. As mentioned previously, the

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16 A paper on law and social order in P'ing-chiao-tsun is in preparation.

17 Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", in Science Religion and Reality, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, pp. 19-84; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, A Study in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

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geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

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hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven.

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狐, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals.

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death.

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

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185 but nevertheless it has begun to change.[19] While all phases of life are involved in change and continuity, only the general process of education is discussed in this section.

867 The process of education begins at infancy in the family. When
868 parents teach their children how to speak, they intentionally or un-
855 intentionally instruct their children to the continuity of the social heritage.

In the beginning the most important instructor is the mother rather than the father. As soon as infancy and childhood are over, about the age of six, boys and girls are divided. The mother still remains the main instructor of her daughter, but the latter begins to have more associates of the same sex of equal age or older age. She gradually learns to be a woman as her mother did before her.[20] Not only does she have to acquire a skill in cooking and doing other household work, but also she has to remember the ideology of womanhood and to practice the female virtues. The acquirement of a technical skill in household work is not a simple task. Here learning is by doing. Long years of apprenticeship at home will make her equal to the job of a house-wife. She is known to the villagers by her skill and character rather than by her beauty. Her marriage ability fluctuates directly with them.

With boys, the father gradually takes over the work of instruction from the mother. In a farmer's family, whether the father wishes his boy to be a farmer or not, the junior has to assist the senior in farming. Slowly the boy learns to handle agricultural implements, to know the nature of plants and crops, and to discriminate the differential fertility of the soil.

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19 "The folkways and mores of more stationary times hang over into a period of change. The failure to recognize the proper correlations cause difficulties in adjustment. The characteristics selected for the comparison of stationary societies and changing ones include experiment, fate and inevitability, the past and the future, elders and youth, authority, law, morals, mores, fashion, manners, suppression of human nature, individualization, caste and class, sentiment and ceremony, art, religion, radicals and conservatives, and the culture as a whole." — W. F. Ogburn, "Stationary and Changing Societies," in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLII, No. 1, July, 1936, p. 16.

20 Margaret Mead has initiated anthropological study of primitive education which is very stimulating in this connection. See Growing Up in New Guinea, A Comparative Study of Primitive Education, New York, 1930; also Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, New York, 1936.

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If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village.

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21]

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter.

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area.

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func-

21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

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tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

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while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance.

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other.

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties.

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in **Who Shall Survive?** Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — **Notes and Queries on Anthropology**, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, **We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia**, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

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618 578 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be characterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 571 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 829 556 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper, middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice. **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, **Rural Life**, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, **A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes**, Boston and New York, 1940.

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but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways.

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made.

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While

30 R. D. McKenzie, **The Metropolitan Community**, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, **The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology**, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

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593 156 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

868 While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, **Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind**, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, **Community, A Sociological Study**, London, 1924.

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problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or crescive, contractual or customary.

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation.

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning.

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal.

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self-

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sufficient unit. It takes the cooperation of other villages to satisfy the desire of sex of the villagers. It also takes the cooperation of a market-town to satisfy the desire of hunger of the villagers.

In the old days, the cooperation of a village and a town might have the needs of the village folks satisfied. But gradually they have found a world which is even larger than this village-town since urban forces have penetrated into the village.

Individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village. But from now on these P'ing-chiao-tsun folks will find a city world with its complexities of institutions and associations. Sooner or later they will have to face this larger unit of cooperation or rather a complexity of units of cooperation. They will be even more individualized, but if they are not ready to participate in it, they may find themselves lost in the confusion.

Ch'eng-hsin Chao.

APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON METHODS

There is no attempt in the present note to take up the theoretical question of the methodology of sociology. For that, foot-notes in the text may serve to indicate the point of view underlying our field study. This note is rather a description of the procedure actually operated in our field work.

To begin with there are three motives underlying our study of the various aspects of social life in P'ing-chiao-tsun. First and foremost is the attempt to vitalize our academic curriculum. It is one of our fundamental principles of education that students as well as teachers will know more from their books by putting their theories into test in a field. The second motive which is related to the first is to experiment with the various techniques in sociological investigation. While these techniques may be adaptable in primitive studies or in the studies of modern industrialized societies as the case may be, they have to be tested in a Chinese field or fields before we can sufficiently appreciate their value. The third motive is to collect materials for comparative studies of rural communities in general and of Chinese villages in particular.

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P'ing-chiao-tsun is the pseudo-name given to our village, the real /21/
name of which is for a certain purpose better disguised. It is chosen as our field of investigation not because it is a good sample. When so little is known of the social conditions of the various regions in China, it is very difficult indeed to speak of sampling in any sociological study. The present village is chosen for its location, which is not too far away from the university campus or too near to be influenced by a single institution. It is chosen even more because the principal of its school is an old acquaintance of one of our department assistants.

Back in the days in the year of 1930-31 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work of Yenching University first established its Ch'ingho Social Experimental Station, P'ing-chiao-tsun was known to us. When the Ch'ingho Station withdrew what was left of its work from the village some time in 1935, the Department of Sociology of National Tsinghua University established its field station in this village until the summer of 1937. The villagers and their leaders had been thus quite prepared for any sociological investigation from the outside when we "rediscovered" the village in one of our field trips in the winter of 1938-39.

We had been looking for a new field ever since the Ch'ingho /22
Station was closed down in 1937. It was, however, only by accident /23
that we met the school principal and decided to have the village as our sociological field. Negotiations with the principal and through him with the village leaders were very laborious in the days from February 1939 to June of the same year. As we finally agreed to subsidize the school, we were led by the principal to meet the head of the *lien-pao* in his office in another village. A meeting with the *pao* and *chia* heads, leaders of our village, was arranged in July, 1939. Faculty- and student-investigators all participated. After all these courtesy calls we were led to visit homes of villagers who were very friendly to our chief informant and "liaison officer", the principal of the village school. In these early visits we tried to be friends to our villagers and engaged them in conversation whenever possible. Finally to conclude our preparatory work, the heads of the *lien-pao*, *pao* and *chia* were invited to lunch and to visit the university campus and university agriculture experimental station in October, 1939.

In early August in 1939 a group of physics students of the university was requested to assist in the mapping out of the physical site of the village. It was a real excitement to the village folks when these students together with our field investigators had their instru-

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122 ments in position in the village to start working. This was the first
123 time that our village folks had a taste of the accuracy of modern scientific instruments. It was real magic to them, so they told us, when they found out that the distances established by these instruments were "equal" to the measures by their foot-steps.

123 While our village folks were still startled by this scientific
125 mapping, a population census including age, sex, occupation, literacy and other items was begun. The method of direct inquiry was adopted whenever possible and the census unit was a family-household. Here our investigators met their first difficulty. Villagers refused to answer when they were asked. Naturally, our house-to-house canvass began with those families which were very friendly to the school principal. Whenever we were refused, our "liaison officer" explained the matter and said "uncle-so-and-so's family had already been enumerated." The indirect method, i.e., inquiring from neighboring families, was resorted to whenever direct inquiry failed us. When all enumerations were done, our figures were found to have discrepancies with the household records on file in the office of the *lien-pao* head.

Registration of births, deaths, marriages, and migrations soon followed the census enumeration. The work was done by the principal and every registration was checked by our field investigators. This work has been continuing for already more than two years.

126 Following the lead of social anthropologists, events of interest were begun to be recorded daily. We have on file at present the records of over 800 days. Meteorological data were provided by the Department of Physics of the University. Agricultural, economic, political, religious, educational and recreational activities as well as customs relating to births, marriages, deaths and health were altogether recorded in one blank-sheet. With these records from day to day, various aspects of life can be well correlated and their rhythms are well observed and noted.

At the very beginning of our investigations, it was found very necessary to have a chance for field investigators to exchange their experiences and to discuss their common problems. This was made possible by group conferences held weekly. Furthermore, each investigator was asked to record his observations as well as his own activities. All these records were on file for references. Besides, student-investigators were having frequent conferences with their major professors to clear up matters of theoretical and practical interest.

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Shortly before the end of October, 1939 student-investigators gradually concentrated on certain aspects of social life. While these students only visited the village twice a week when school was in session, they spent their whole winter recess of two weeks with the villagers. The subjects covered by these student-investigators included demography, sexual life, death customs, village politics, farm management, and land tenure, with the latter two by students from the Economics Department.

About the same time when village folks began to have more leisure time in the winter months, our department assistants started a rather detailed census of the farming population with the family-household as unit of investigation. Items covered in seven blank-schedules included farm-size, land ownership, working animals, material equipments, croppings, farm-laborers, debts, etc. — altogether well over three hundred sub-items. The main purpose of this study is the correlation of economic activities with the various aspects of social relations.

In filling up these blanks, we started with the material equipments and had the more delicate questions of land ownership and debts at the end. In our house-to-house canvasses we still met difficulties, but they were far less than those we met in taking the population census undertaken earlier, although these blanks were far more complicated and involved than the population schedule.

Before the end of the academic year, June, 1940, students of the junior class were sent to the field and served as apprentices to their seniors. These students were only expected to make acquaintances with the villagers. While they were not supposed to take up any subject for study, they were required to keep records of their own activities in the village as well as their observations. It was very interesting indeed to compare these records with the early records of their seniors.

Shortly before the commencement of a new year, misunderstandings occurred between our investigators and the villagers. It happened that a very ambitious *chia* head expressed his desire to have a business cooperation with our student-investigators. Our students refused politely but nevertheless we were disliked. Another incident occurred when our senior students forgot to bid farewells to our villagers. This fault was naturally ours.

Far more serious than these two incidents was the one when we failed to make sufficient contribution to the funeral of a villager. The

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123 whole misunderstanding occurred in this way. During the traditional New Year festival we presented seasonal presents to the villagers. When we found needy cases in our investigation we usually helped them within our capacity. Also our students made presents to their acquaintances in the village on special occasions. But this time when the death occurred in a very poor family, the school principal and the village leaders promised the family that they would obtain a good sum from us as presents to the funeral but which was without our knowledge. When we failed this time to live up to their expectation, their reaction was very strong indeed. They scolded our investigators and threatened to discontinue their cooperation. We surely learned a good lesson from this incident. A strong warning was given our student-investigators and our "liaison officer", the school principal, not to make any promise to villagers without our knowledge.

Naturally we had to offer compensation to our villagers in order to calm down their emotions and to restore the necessary cooperation. Many conferences were held with the village leaders. Finally, we agreed to subsidize a little sum every month in providing medicines for the curing of minor illnesses. Also we secured the cooperation of the university medical office to extend to the villagers its services. But so far very few villagers have taken advantage of this. With this agreement, the whole incident was closed and now it has been already forgotten by the villagers.

Except for these incidents in its beginning, the second year was a very happy one indeed. Our investigators freely mixed with the villagers. During the winter recess of 1940-41, these students lived among the village folks. They brought their own water from the village wells and cooked their own food. They entertained the villagers and so the villagers reciprocated. It happened that the traditional New Year festival fell in this winter recess. Our investigators actually *kowtowed* to the villagers. Naturally the villagers reciprocated. Our investigators were very much liked by the villagers. Indeed, one house-wife even tried to have one of our male-investigators marry a girl she knew.

121 The subjects covered in the second year included the physical structure of the village, the village temple, the "four sacred families", a case study of a farm family, duck-raising in the village, agricultural implements, school census and credit cooperatives, with the latter by a student of Economics.

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With our third year just begun, very little can be said except that our relations with the villagers are growing more intimate. Our investigators are very frequently invited by the villagers to have lunch with them. Subjects under investigation include nutritional relationship, belief in "wind and water", visits from and to friends and relatives outside the village, time keeping and the changing conception of time, house ownership, and the making of genealogical tables.

Our investigations have been largely limited to the activities of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks. Their activities may, however, take place outside the village boundary and they have relations with peoples outside the village. In order to have clear pictures of their activities, our investigators have to follow them. For instance, in the study of duck-raising, our investigator followed the operator to the market-places in the city. Whenever deaths in other villages came to our knowledge, we sent investigators to the place for careful observation. We have extended our areas whenever necessary and opportune to do so.

It is not perhaps out of place to mention two general points of methodological interest in the present note. It seems to us from our experiences that the key problem in our investigation is communication with the villagers. Generally speaking, our investigators and the village folks live in the same Peiping linguistic area, but our life is so different from theirs that we may attach different meanings to the same words. Furthermore, because of differences in life experience, we and the villagers actually have different vocabularies. In this connection, we had been very fortunate indeed to associate ourselves with the principal of the village school who is literally marginal to our culture and the culture of the village folks. It is a very slow process to us indeed to relate the vocabularies of the village folks to their activities. But the problem does not end here. If our study is to be scientific at all, the communications of the village folks as well as their activities have to be objectified in some measurable units. Regarding this, we have only a humble beginning.

Of equal importance and highly relating to communication is the control of the personality element of our investigators. It seems to us that in sociological investigations, personalities are in interaction. While the method of participation observation is a very useful one, it may be too much in the direction of participation when the observer and the observed are in intimate interaction. In the interaction of personalities in an investigational situation, it is very difficult indeed

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123 to keep the two processes of participation and observation well balanced. In this connection, it is also very interesting to note that specific investigators are attracted to specific villagers. This attraction lies deep into their personality traits.

Before this note is concluded, one word may be added. While this is written, our field work is still in process. The present paper can be therefore taken only as a preliminary review. It is hoped, however, that it may serve as an introduction to the specialized papers which will appear in later issues of the *Journal*. The present paper is written also because we wish to have a chance to reflect on the work which was done in the last two years. Our work will be highly profited by comments from the social science public.

APPENDIX II: A NOTE ON POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

122 The war came to an end on August 15, 1945, and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. The principal of the village school came to inquire whether our research could be restored. I was then very much occupied with teaching and other work, and regretted very much that we could not resume our field work immediately but assured him that he would be informed of our decision in a few weeks' time. During the academic year of 1945-46 we paid three visits to the village, twice with two graduates of the Department of Sociology who were field workers there before the war, and once with an addition of an American student who was interested in sociology and just released from military service. In these three visits we were very warmly welcomed by our old friends, the villagers.

In the late summer of 1946, when the University in Chengtu rejoined those of us in Peiping, field work began to be resumed in a very small way. At first, a senior student went to the field. He was new to the village and was taken there by our assistant. He stayed on campus but made frequent trips to the village. It did not take a long time for him to get acquainted with the people of the village and he was soon able to concentrate on the problem of agricultural laborers. 121 A second senior student went to the field in January, 1947. He had visited the village in his junior year before the war, and it did not take much time for him to renew his personal acquaintances with the villagers. He finally concentrated on the problem

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of education of village children. The field of village politics in action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located.

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent.

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained

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their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

Members of the richest family were not in the village. They looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment. Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its personnel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the poljtical struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status

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and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.